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EDITORIAL

The current controversy raging over the form and substance of the postwar educational system seems to this writer a tempest in the proverbial teapot. Those who are saying that the emerging goal of education will be vocational and practical because the war has shown the old system archaic are as far afield as are those who fight for tradition. Both groups are still enslaved by the stereotype that "education is preparation for life."

"Liberal arts didn't prepare youth for this emergency," say these high priests of the educational order, "so we will substitute something that will. We will make the curriculum from subjects that are practical." Is there any guarantee that this "preparation" for the future will be any more practical than was the former? If we could rid ourselves of this stereotype of the past, wouldn't it be fair to say that education is, as Dewey put it, a continuous reconstruction? When there was need for a prolongation of infancy and cultural enrichment, the educational system tried, however imperfectly, to meet this "demand of life." Now that the demand is the reverse, the educational system has again tried to adjust to the demand of life.

Nor is there need for too much concern over this pattern of educational program. There is serious doubt if we learn much of a subject until we are thrown into social situations where to learn the

subject makes sense. Robert E. Park has shown this problem of communication in numerous articles he has published. Things that are practical now would be erudite when wartime demands have passed. Conversely, the youngsters who were playing football and complaining about the required courses in science and "math" during yesteryear have learned the science of war in two short years so well that they are more than a match for other youths who have spent their lives studying the arts of destruction.

If the war has any lesson for education, isn't it that we must manipulate the social situation so that what people study will make sense to them? From this point of view the community approach would appear most fruitful. To this writer it is time for us to scrap ideas like "the school should be a society in miniature," and "education for scholastics only," and say that the school is emerging as the channel through which the people of the community function collectively to solve their problems—whatever they are.

When we contemplate the future it is apparent that this point of view is going to be forced on us whether we like it or not. The need for retraining of welders will be acute when war contracts are finished. Nursery schools are probably here to stay. Public-health programs of some sort will be necessary, and their effectiveness will depend upon the extent to which they resort to education to keep people well.

When one reads a book like Ottley's *New World A-Coming* and senses the educational impact of being a Negro in a white city, of what slum shock means to a people, of what living in slums and under the control of stereotypes means to people, one cannot help but see that the real education of a person lies in the informal processes of community life in which he is caught. Unless education catches on and utilizes this community approach, we will continue to be what too often we have been in the past—"peddlers of *non-sense*."

DAN W. DODSON

FAMILY SITUATIONS AND CHILD BEHAVIOR

A Proposed Frame Of Reference

James H. S. Bossard

Family situations are accorded primary rank in the analysis and measurement of the child's environment. The family is the one social institution that has been left largely to sociologists for scientific study. It would seem, therefore, to be the sociologists' responsibility to organize and systematize the various researches into the relationship of family situations and child behavior. This paper is an effort to present a framework for such studies.

Our first proposal is that family situations can be studied from three points of view. Existing studies, despite differences in terminology, tend to fall into three such groups. They can be identified here under the terms structure, process, and cultural content.

The Family Structure

The distinguishing implications of the term *structure* are form and organization, and the essence of both is continuity of relationship. When we structurize a family situation, we see it in repose; we take it apart, examine each part regarding its nature, and inquire into the way these parts are organized into a unit. If I understand him correctly, it is this that Lundberg had in mind when he wrote: "After the field, i.e., situation, has been selected, the problem is to structure it so that the relationship of the elements in the field can be accurately shown. The method of doing this with which we are most familiar is, of course, to name with words certain elements or factors in the situation and then by the use of adjectives or adverbs of ordinary language we attempt to give an accurate statement of the relationships within the field."¹ Thus approaching family situations, three basic lines of inquiry present themselves.

¹ George Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 217 ff.

The Structural Forms of the Family

Many studies of family situations assume the family to be a standardized biological and reproductive unit, ignoring its diverse forms as a socially conditioned and institutionalized phenomenon. Sociologists, concerned chiefly with contemporary culture, have paid less attention to the classification of family structures; anthropologists, with their comparative approach, have shown considerable interest.

As an illustration of structural forms of the family in the contemporary western culture, the classifications presented by Gillin and attributed to Warner might be cited.² This is developed from the point of view of the inclusiveness of membership and with reference to the child member. It differentiates between (1) *the immediate family*, which includes the family of procreation and the family of orientation; and (2) *the extended* (I prefer the term kinship group) *family*. With reference to the latter type such families may be patrilinear or matrilinear. Similarly this type might be classified as to status, the strength of the "we-feeling" within the kinship group, the spatial distribution of the kinfolk, the family tradition, the relative prestige of its outstanding members. Each of these are categories that have great significance in determining the role of this larger family unit in influencing the behavior of the child members.

The Structural Elements in Family Situations

This second line of inquiry into the structure of family situations concerns itself with the constituent elements in these situations and their characteristics. These elements might be thought of as the polar points in the relatively continuous relationships in family situations. Concretely, these polar points would be ordinarily the persons included in the situation. That is to say, the elements in the structure

² J. L. and J. P. Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), pp. 211 ff.

of the family situation to which a child reacts might be a father, a mother, a brother, and a maiden aunt.

The characteristics of this constituent personnel would include many things. First is the simple fact of their total number. One of the most important things about a family situation so far as the child member is concerned is the number of persons in it. Similarly important are the ages, sex, age relationships, and physical appearances of the family members. Such facts have been commonly ignored, yet the recent emphasis in the study of the role in the social structure of sex, age, and age disparity suggests that similar facts may have considerable meaning in the analysis of family situations, especially with reference to the behavior responses of children.*

In addition to the characteristics already mentioned would be the personality traits that the social psychologists and other groups have been identifying. Particularly to be emphasized, in this consideration, are those traits that are important for parent-child relationships.⁴

Structural Relationships

The third line of inquiry into the structure of family situations would center upon the relatively continuing relationships among the structural elements, as just described. Concerning these relationships at least four aspects would seem important. First, there is the character of such relationships as they have become institutionalized and socially typed. Illustrations of this would be the father-

* Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), ch. viii; Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," *The Sociological Review*, June 1941, pp. 345-356; Kingsley Davis, "The Child and the Social Structure," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 1940, pp. 219-230. See also the papers by Linton, Parson, and Cottrell in *The Sociological Review*, October 1942.

⁴ In this connection, the reader is advised to consult such classifications as those of E. T. Krueger and W. C. Reckless, *Social Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1935), pp. 352-353; Robert Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, rev. ed., 1925), p. 70; F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), pp. 101-103; F. H. Allport, *Personality* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), pp. 235-369.

mother relationship, that between mother and son, or between eldest and youngest brothers. Second, there is the nature of the personality relationships, in terms of domination and submission, to cite just one type of illustration. A third aspect would be the relative stability of such relationships. Are they stable, permanent, fluctuating, intermittent, temporary, etc.? Finally, what is the emotional tone or "temperature" of the relationship? Is it easy and spontaneous, is it tense, is it happy, or is it uncertain and confused?

By way of summarizing this first approach to the study of family situations, it is evident that a good deal of scientific work looking in this direction has already been done. Some anthropologists have concerned themselves with the structural forms of the family in different cultures, and a few sociologists have recognized the need for such studies of the family in our own contemporary society.⁵ Again, studies of personality types and traits are available to serve as bases for the analysis of parental types and traits, which we have identified as the structural elements in family situations. The approach to the study of family situations, in terms of structure, involves then in part a series of new studies and in part a reorientation and further development of studies already begun.

Family Situations as Process

A second way in which a social situation may be viewed is in terms of process. If the structural approach is a still-life picture, this second is that of the motion picture. We are concerned now with the interaction of the elements of the situation. This is the generic process of social interaction, so much emphasized by certain sociologists. The term is used here to identify reciprocal or interdependent relationships among the elements in a situation; and the basic idea involved is not one of the mere meeting or collision of those elements, but something more pervasive and subtle, in the course of

⁵ Kingsley Davis in Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, *Marriage and the Family* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1942), ch. vi.

which each acts upon or somehow changes or modifies the other. Conceived thus in terms of process, the situation becomes an immediately related and functioning segment of human experience.

The constant interplay among the members of a family constitutes one of its fundamental features, and gives it such very great importance in the development of the personalities of its members, particularly of its younger members. A family consists customarily of persons of different ages and sexes, who are living together on the basis of a specified and emotional relationship, in which there is going on a continuing interaction among its members. It is in this unit of interacting personalities that the child learns to live, and there are at least three reasons why this experience is of such overwhelming importance in the development of the child's personality. In the first place, the family comprehends the first experience in living of the child; second, these family experiences are repeated over and over again; and, third, they are tinged by an emotional tone.

Studies of the interactive aspect of family life would seem to divide themselves into two groups. In the first group are those that concern themselves with family interaction chiefly from the point of view of what it is that the child gets from its interactive family experience, particularly with reference to its sociopsychological needs and development. A number of such studies are contained in the recent literature on child development and an analysis of them reveals that at least seven contributions have been emphasized. These might be summarized as follows:

1. Satisfaction of the "desire for ultimate response"
2. Setting the stage for the development and utilization of the child's ability
3. The family audience satisfies the desire for the approval of one's kind
4. Experiments in adjustments to other persons
5. Development of attitude toward socially typed persons—parent, grandparent, old persons, etc.

6. Presentation of tools with which to acquire education
7. The formation of living habits—eating, speaking, etc.

A second group of studies bearing upon family situations considered in terms of process are those that deal with the generic process in all interpersonal relations. These studies have an objective far broader than family interaction, and the general area is one that must include perforce many scientific disciplines. It may be, as Cottrell and Gallagher suggest, that social psychology, thus conceived, "will be the biochemistry of the social sciences."⁶ It seems equally clear that, to study the generic processes of interpersonal relations, psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, cultural anthropology, and other sciences, as well as sociology will have their contributions to make. The analysis of family situations in terms of process is, then, a part of this larger area of investigation of interpersonal relations per se.

The Cultural Content of Family Situations

Both the structure and process of family situations are but means to an end, and that end is the content that they convey. This content we speak of as culture. This cultural content is the distinguishing feature of human family situations. For example, before me on the floor, as I write, is a dog family engaged in play. Here is an interactive process, most assuredly; there are gestures, grimaces, growls, with an evident role of attitudes, dispositions, emotions, and the like. This is process; but there is no cultural content. Culture is exclusively a human product, and a culture content of the interactive process is confined to human relationships.⁷

⁶ Leonard S. Cottrell and Ruth Gallagher, *Developments in Social Psychology from 1930 to 1940*. Sociometry Monograph No. 1, Beacon House, New York, 1941, p. 58.

⁷ For an illustration of the distinction between process and content, as here made, see John E. Anderson, "The Development of Social Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology*, May 1939, p. 849.

This cultural content is in many ways the basic aspect of family situations, yet it is perhaps the most neglected one in their study, and in the consideration of their role in child behavior. This is all the more astonishing when one considers the sociologist's recent emphasis upon culture. In a measure, sociologists have busied themselves for a decade or two in rehashing and restating the psychologist's and psychiatrist's material on family-child behavior problems, relatively neglecting all the while the rich view of cultural data at their front doors—a view so aptly a part of their general field of investigation and so rich with material for the interpretation of behavior problems.

Each family has its own culture pattern. This is a specific, selective combination of cultural elements peculiar to that family. It is formed on the basis of various factors: the culture of the adults who formed the family, the parts of the general culture that the family knows, the parts that the family has access to; all these modified by the family's experience with different aspects of the general culture and the powerful influence of the aspirations of the family.

Because of the sociologist's concern with both culture and the institution of the family, the analysis of family culture patterns is their particular responsibility. It is proposed that such analysis proceed with reference to five distinct aspects.

A Description of the Family Pattern

This involves the identification and description of the elements in the family culture pattern in simple objective, realistic manner, with a minimum of interpretation or evaluation. This is a rigorous discipline. Can an outline be devised for the description and study of a family culture? Can this be done with sufficient objectivity so that a family culture pattern can be "mounted" just as a botanist mounts his specimens? This would seem to be the first step in the analysis of a family culture pattern.

Harmony or Conflict in the Family Pattern

What is the relationship of the cultural elements in the family pattern to each other? Two main aspects of such relationships must be considered: (1) those between adults in the family, and (2) those between generations included.

1. Is there cultural harmony or conflict among the adult members of the family in regard to such matters of major importance as religion, nationality, class status, recreation, or child rearing? This question is particularly important in the light of such facts as the recent controversies over progressive education and liberalism in family discipline, and the inevitably large number of "mixed marriages" in a population with so many diverse cultural elements as there are in the United States.

2. What is the nature and degree of cultural relationship among the generations included in the family? Two main aspects of such relationships require comment. First, there is the problem of inter-generational relationships in families of foreign stock. One fifth of the children of the United States fall into this transitional group, and three fourths of them are congregated in our urban areas of population. Second, there is the problem of the cultural divergences among generations in the same family, which result from rapid cultural change. How early do these consequences operate? This problem of parent-child culture conflict obtains in every generation; the query here is directed to its role in a period of very rapid cultural change. It might be profitable to examine the significance of the culture lag theory for family situations. In a rapidly changing culture, children learn early how their material culture differs from that of their parents' nonmaterial culture. Is the latter similarly "dated"? How well do the adaptations of the culture of the members of the family synchronize in a period of very rapid cultural change? There is a curious lack of studies of "old-fashioned" family situations in the literature on the family- and parent-child relationships.

What is the degree or intensity of the harmony or conflict in these intrafamily relationships? Do they exist in regard to such fundamental matters as religion, nationality, greatly emphasized mores, etc., or do they obtain in regard to matters of minor importance? Are the tensions involved sufficiently strong to create a condition of marked cultural insecurity?

How does the family interpret these culture differentials and conflicts? What attitudes come to prevail in family situations toward them? Do the members of the family agree on these methods or not? Isaacs, for example, has written penetratingly of the possible meaning to the child of the contrast between family situations in which there is complete freedom and in which there is a stable and ordered world of values.⁹ Similarly, Koshuk has done some interesting work on this at the preschool level, showing how some children must adapt to groups whose codes and methods of social control are divergent, and possibly contradictory, while others live in a world all of whose groups function harmoniously.¹⁰

What are the ways of resolving culture differentials in the family advocated by the dominant member? By the member with the highest prestige? Anderson points out¹¹ that children accept the ways of some one among the personnel in the family situation above all others. The role and operation of prestige in family relations have been curiously neglected by sociologists.

Insights into Family Situations

Insights into family situations which have been contributed by the psychiatrists justify the distinction between an *expressed* and a *repressed* family culture. The *expressed* culture is that which operates on the surface, with activities and words to be taken relatively

⁹ S. Isaacs, *The Social Development of Young Children* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933).

¹⁰ Ruth Pearson Koshuk, "Problems for Sociological Research in Personality Development," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, April 1937, pp. 464-469.

¹¹ John E. Anderson, "The Development of Social Behavior," *op. cit.*, p. 849.

at their "face" value; the *repressed* culture exists and operates beneath the level of awareness, in the mental hinterland of the persons involved. As a rule all that has been repressed by the parents in their own lives tends to be transmitted to their children, often in perverted form. If the statement be not taken too literally, one might say that most persons fall into two main categories: (1) those who adjust wholly or largely to the prevailing mores and tend secretly to feel sorry for themselves; and (2) those who do not adjust so completely and are inclined to worry about it. To the extent that this is true it would mean that, among parents, there result two prevailing emphases on cultural values: one that of secret satisfaction and the other colored by a sense of guilt.

The basic fact to be emphasized perhaps is that there are persistent but not always obvious pressures operating in family situations, which tend to force the children into forms of expression that are compensatory for what has been left unfulfilled in the lives of the parents. Thus one comes to understand why overly moral parents have so-called immoral children, why a partly successful father attempts to goad his son into an inordinate ambition, why an unhappily married mother displays a morbid interest in her son's romantic adventures, and why the gangster parent encourages his son to enter the priesthood. All this is, of course, a commonplace to students who have been steeped in psychoanalytic literature of recent years; it is here contended that the principle involved should be utilized as basic for the analysis of the cultural content of family situations. At any rate, this repressed phase of the culture situation in family life needs to be explored much more comprehensively than has thus far been the case, and recognized as a definite conditioning factor in the life of the child.

Family Culture at Different Ages of the Child

One aspect of the study of the culture content of family situations which has been largely neglected is the role of rapid changes in that

content during the child's life. Two recent developments emphasize its contemporary importance. One is the recent prolongation of the child's period of preparation for life, involving a corresponding increase in the time span of family conditioning of the child. Time was when the child's preparation for life was relatively short. Both the questions and answers of life were comparatively few and simple, and were fixed at an early age. Time now is when the answers are numerous, the answers are complex and in a high state of flux, and the period of preparation for life is obviously and necessarily much longer. There is common agreement today that the person continues to develop psychologically long after the age of physical maturity has been reached; it is here contended that the period of the cultural conditioning of the child within the family must be reconsidered on the basis of a much longer time span. In other words, the family culture operates during an increased number of years in the life of the child.

A second factor to be emphasized is the fact that, in a society with a considerable degree of vertical mobility, any particular family culture may undergo marked changes during the period of the child's life in the family. It is characteristic of large numbers of American families that they move not only from their locality but also from their class. Considerable emphasis has been placed by sociologists upon the fact that the children make the adjustment to a new class culture more quickly than the parents, but what the particular culture of the socially ascending or descending family actually includes again has been neglected. Warner and Lunt give us some hint as to what the cultural changes may be like.¹²

Relation of the Family Cultural Pattern to Its Social Units

Finally, of the highest importance is the relation of the family cultural pattern to those of the various social units of which the

¹² W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); *The Status System of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

family is a member. There are at least four well-defined aspects of such relationships that need to be explored in any cultural approach to behavior.

1. *Relation to the ethos, or national cultural pattern.* The term *ethos*, developed by the ancient Greeks, was applied by the late William Graham Sumner to the distinguishing cultural pattern of any national society. To this ethos, the child is introduced by his family. This introduction is in part formal, but much more of it is incidental and subtle. The ethos surrounds the child at every turn; it is like the air he breathes. But, all the time, as he learns the ethos, he absorbs also the family attitude toward it.

What is the relation of the family culture to that of the national pattern? Is the specific family pattern "old American," Greek-American, Fascist Italian, non-Fascist Italian, Lithuanian, or Icelandic? How much and in what ways does it deviate from the ethos? If it is different, is the difference complicated by antagonism or friendliness, and what is the emotional intensity of the particular attitude held? Questions like these are particularly important in a nation where one third of the population is of foreign stock, with sixteen elements in that stock constituting more than a half million persons each; in which another eleventh of the population is Negro; and in which even the old native stock harks back to differing national origins.

2. *Relation to the regional pattern.* The region is a unit part of the larger society. Identified first in geographic terms, subsequently on the basis of trade and other economic considerations, the region is identified today in cultural terms.¹⁸ The Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration delineates 29 cultural areas and 210 subregions within the rural farm population. Hertzler speaks of the "dominant motifs which serve as selective norms and

¹⁸ Howard W. Odum and H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938).

as centers of reference in the region. It is this complex regional culture which produces the personality patterns of its inhabitants through the stimuli which it radiates. . . ."¹⁴

What is the relationship between the family culture which reflects its background of regional patterning and that of a new region to which the family moves? Here is an old South Carolina family, now living in upper Michigan, or Massachusetts, or New York City. Interregional movement is frequent in a country whose population is as mobile as ours. Such residential changes must have great meaning for the children in these families, but the role of family-regional culture conflicts in the study of behavior is an almost unexplored field of study.

3. *Relation to smaller cultural areas.* Within the region are smaller areas, subregions, sections, communities, neighborhoods, ecological areas, etc. Each of these has come to be identified increasingly on the basis of its cultural aspects. Reference has already been made to the 210 subregions identified in the rural areas. The literature on the community is being written in cultural terms. The cultural interpretation of ecological areas has begun.

This local cultural setting for specific family situations is particularly important. It is the immediate and intimate cultural variant within which the family has most of its contacts, and hence has far greater meaning in the study of behavior than has been accorded to it. The culture conflicts of which criminological students speak today would seem to be chiefly of this kind; *i.e.*, conflicts between the culture of the criminal and his community and the culture of the larger society. The conclusion of Dr. Plant may be recalled here: "The artifices and shams, the triumphs and tawdry cheapnesses of the community—all of these flow into the child and become part of him. He who comes to you in agency, school, or clinic brings with

¹⁴J. O. Hertzler, "Some Notes on the Social Psychology of Regionalism," *Social Forces*, March 1940, pp. 331-332.

him the dirt of his street, or its challenging struggle to some distant goal."¹⁵

Of particular importance for child behavior are the conflicts between the culture of the family and that of the neighborhood or community in which the family lives. This again is a particularly important field for study in the second generational family group in this country. What reader of the sociological literature is not familiar with the case of Angelo, son of Greek-born parents, living in a family whose culture was largely Greek, but residing in a second and third generation Irish neighborhood.¹⁶ This divergence between family and community culture needs continued intensive scientific exploration.

4. *Relation to the class cultures.* Within each of these areas, there are definite distinctions of another kind. These may be spoken of as class distinctions. The bases for the division of people into social classes are numerous, and vary in the importance attached to them. Of most importance are those of race, national origin, economic resources, heredity, background, and intellectual attainment.¹⁷

As social classes become distinct and fixed, they develop common interests, a spirit of cooperation and mutual aid, a feeling of consciousness of kind. "There are built up a set of common attitudes, habits, sentiments and values upon which the members agree, which give them a basis for understanding each other, and upon which they act in harmony. To belong to a caste or class is to know how to act in prescribed ways. It gives a fixity and a predictability to behavior which may be important in the smooth running of the social order."¹⁸ In other words, social classes develop their own culture patterns.

¹⁵ James S. Plant in the *Annual Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 335.

¹⁶ Clifford R. Shaw, "Case Study Method," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXI, 1927, pp. 149-157.

¹⁷ C. C. North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1926).

¹⁸ Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1934), p. 475.

Now, the family transmits the culture pattern of its own class to the child, together with the class attitudes toward other classes. The family influence upon the child is particularly significant in its rating of social classes, the place of its own scale in the social class, and the attitudes toward other classes. Here one finds marked emotions, for these matters of class distinction are not only pervasive but go far below the surface. The reader will find an excellent study of the interaction of family situations and class differences in the first two volumes of the Yankee City Series.¹⁹

The point of particular emphasis here is that each family has its class culture and, from the earliest days of its extrafamily life, the child comes to sense and to know its class culture differentials. They run through every group activity in which the child engages, and many of the culture conflicts that incite the child's behavior would seem to be those involving the relationship of the family's class culture to that of the culture of other classes. Every family culture includes not only a pattern of living and thinking involving its own class, but also patterns of reaction to other classes and cultures.

This paper constitutes an effort to organize the sociological analysis of family situations, with special reference to child behavior. Studies in social structure, social process, and culture are all parts of the sociologist's recognized range of interests and scope of investigation. Systematically developed in the specific field of family situations, they constitute a frame of reference for the analysis of the family role in the development of child behavior.

¹⁹ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *op. cit.* See also Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941).

James H. S. Bossard is Professor of Sociology and Director of the William T. Carter Foundation, University of Pennsylvania.

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Richard S. Grossley

The creation of an informed and enlightened public opinion regarding higher education is an important part of educational statesmanship. Obviously, the educators themselves should be among those best informed about a community's general social needs, and the building of sound community support for education must be included in the aims of any comprehensive and democratic program of public relations. There are available techniques that offer effective means of social enrichment through the democratization of educational policy and procedure. It has been wisely suggested that educational leadership might with profit seek to effect a more definite and workable "partnership" with the public. On the basis of the most casual observation, there is much to substantiate the validity of that suggestion. Since the primary purpose of such a relationship would be to integrate school-community interest and activity, the extent and character of such union would doubtless be determined by local interests and demands. The extension or curtailment of institutional service, adult-education needs, issues related to the financing of education—these and other questions involved in the policy, program, and objective of educational institutions might easily concern the lay as well as the professional groups.

Elements of Effective Public Relations

Educational institutions, like other public agencies, require for their healthy and effective existence community good will. Obviously, to attain this essential there must be intelligent use of the various media through which it is to be achieved; but to be of greatest effectiveness, these means, devices, and techniques should be parts of a program that is carefully planned. Planning then is literally the crux of public relations. Without a program that is clearly defined, there are apt to be defenseless, costly, and irreparable blun-

ders, hasty judgments, conflicts, and misunderstandings. As yet, no one has suggested ways and means of avoiding all errors, conflicts, and complications, but it is generally conceded that, with a well-ordered and efficiently executed plan of procedure, they can be reduced to a minimum.

In most of the smaller institutions, leadership in public relations rests upon the head of the institution. In the absence of a public-relations worker to assist him by gathering and compiling the necessary facts, the president must of necessity supply the skill, technique, and wisdom for meeting public demands for information. He must face the fact—and it should be taken seriously into account—that whatever else may be lacking, there is always a public with which to deal, a program, adequate or inadequate, to be interpreted; in short, the elements of effective public relations are present, demanding only recognition and systematic and practical application.

In commercial and industrial institutions public relations have to do with courteous treatment of customer and visitor by the employees and officers, the handling of complaints, the content and form of letters going out, the service and efficiency of the "telephone attendants," the attitude of executives and officers toward stockholders, newspaper representatives, and the whole relationship of buyer and seller.

The public relations of an educational institution are not a matter of devices and techniques; their effectiveness cannot be measured in terms of the amount of public attention received; they are of far deeper significance. They do not of course constitute a panacea for all the ills and besetments with which colleges and universities are confronted; but, properly employed and intelligently directed, public relations can do an immeasurable service toward gaining favorable acceptance of the educational ideals, services, and objectives of the institution by the public from which it gets its support. Programs of public relations are designed and executed primarily as means of strengthening community relationships, reducing mis-

understandings, stimulating confidence, securing support and co-operation, creating greater interest in institutional activities, and giving the public a clearer understanding of the efforts and objectives of the school.

Channels and Means of Implementation

An important function of public relations is that of educational interpretation. It should be remembered that an institution may be interpreted "by" as well as "to" its public. This may be (1) through its physical plant, (2) through its personnel, (3) through its products, and (4) through its reports. And since it is the privilege of even the average citizen to employ any one or all of these media, their significance justifies all attempts to give each approach its maximum emphasis and value.

The school plant reflects the cause of education in every community. It is the silent symbol of educational sentiment—a measure of the interest held by the community for the cause of education. The potency of any school report, whether written or verbal, as a basis of interpretation must certainly be regarded. As a fundamental consideration every institution should keep as its constant memento the fact that it will be judged worthy or unworthy by the products it sends forth.

Public-Relations Practices

The writer made an extensive investigation of the policies and practices of public relations in thirty or more colleges and universities, including the land-grant colleges for Negroes. It was interesting to find that as a feature of their public relations, more than fifty per cent of these institutions, in varying degrees, employed mainly what in general is regarded as the "permanent continuing" type of educational publicity. In a few instances, however, it was noted that the "campaign publicity" type of program was employed, while in others both methods of publicity were being used. In the case of the land-grant colleges, practically all of

them administered their public-relations program from the office of the president. The investigation revealed varying degrees of awareness on the part of all participating institutions of the need for interpreting their programs, policies, and objectives to their publics. It also revealed in many cases lack of planned programs of educational interpretation based upon sound policies and well-defined objectives. It was observed that the more vital, complete, and constructive public-relations programs were in centers where they were well planned and staffed, and where they were given adequate financial and moral support.

Public Relations and the Negro College Student

The outstanding problem in the Negro land-grant colleges seems still to center around the Negro college student. It is a matter of record that the Negro college freshman in the main enters college with the distinct handicap of a poor educational background. Concerning this, Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the United States Office of Education, presents a full, aggressive, and illuminating discussion of the problems involved and the remedies that should be easy and certain of application. It is desired here only to call attention to certain phases of the problem which are often either overlooked or improperly evaluated.

The Negro college student comes from a relatively low socioeconomic status. The vast majority, in fact, comes from homes supported by parents engaged in domestic and personal service, and in unskilled labor. This means not only total absence of economic security but also, affecting the students, insufficient funds to pay the higher tuition and living cost. This used to be the chief barrier in private institutions, but it has come to be of equal significance in the majority of land-grant colleges. This is a problem that should be taken fully into account by the land-grant college authorities and those responsible for the scope, character, and support of their programs of service.

The Negro land-grant colleges are public institutions. They receive their major support from public taxation. They are designed to perform one of society's most exacting and important functions—that of training youth for citizenship and service in a democracy. There is, therefore, every reason for deep and far-reaching concern on the part of the public in the welfare of the institution. Because of this inherent obligation to interest and responsibility, the public also has a right to know what the schools are doing and why they are being thus directed. Certainly public sentiment about an institution should not be left to chance and the possibility of irresponsible and distorted interpretation. The welfare of the institution and that of the community is bound to be affected by public sentiment. It would seem then that this inevitable public sentiment should be based upon as accurate and comprehensive information as could possibly be provided.

Richard S. Grossley was formerly President of the State College for Colored Students at Dover, Delaware.

A COMMUNITY APPROACH TO THE REHABILITATION OF THE HANDICAPPED

V. J. Sallak

Educators, social workers, occupational therapists, nurses, and doctors are much concerned about the rehabilitation of the handicapped. No one group of these professionals can afford all of the service required in the average community, but all have a definite contribution to make in the solution of the two distinct problems that beset them. The first of these problems calls for the rehabilitation of civilian handicapped adults and children. The second, the one of which the public is now most aware, calls for the social and vocational rehabilitation of handicapped veterans returning to home communities. These handicapped individuals, civilian and veteran,

suffer from many disabilities. The cardiac, the tuberculous, the partially seeing and hearing, the totally deaf and blind, the orthopedically crippled, those suffering from amputations, and those suffering from mental disorders are among the types of disabled persons who need this service.

The coherent and well-knit program of service offered in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, of which Cleveland is an integral part, is not the ultimate in this work. Yet it is, at least in the opinion of the writer and others familiar with the field, qualitatively and quantitatively among the best of those that may be observed in this country.

The Basic Program

The program shows a definite contribution made by a number of public and private agencies. These include the public schools, the State vocational rehabilitation service, local welfare and health agencies, both public and private, and medical institutions. The service offered is possible only because teachers, social workers, psychologists, occupational therapists, and medical staffs play co-operative parts in the rehabilitation procedure.

In analyzing the program of service, several distinct phases can be clearly differentiated: (1) an in-hospital program; (2) a post-hospital program involving treatment and mental and physical hardening; (3) a vocational training and placement program.

Referral of patients from one phase of the program to another is handled with a minimum waste of time. While the patient is in one phase of service, clearance with the others is established. He goes readily from one to the other without the passage of weeks and months commonly lost in so many cities. This continuity of service reduces to a minimum the usual agency red tape that most patients resent fiercely.

While these phases are clearly defined, there is, nevertheless, a coordinated plan for flexibility in type of service. Actually voca-

tional training may begin in the hospital phase. Hardening is begun in the hospital phase. Treatment may continue through the post-hospital phase and through vocational training. In some instances treatment will continue after placement in a job has occurred. (An instance of this would be those taking pneumothorax treatment for tuberculosis.) Similar flexibility in other areas of activity is characteristic of the pattern of service.

An In-Hospital Program

An unusually fine example of an in-hospital program within the larger program is offered at Sunny Acres Tuberculosis Sanatorium, formerly a city institution but now a county hospital. Within the institution, and an essential part of its therapeutic service, is the Rehabilitation Department. This department includes a teaching staff of five for adult patients, offering opportunity for study in academic subject matter, home economics, industrial arts, and commercial subjects. Additional teachers are available for children. The department includes occupational therapy with a director, two assistants, and additional trainees from affiliated schools of occupational therapy. It provides medical social service through three workers. It makes provision for counseling and educational and vocational aptitude testing by staff psychologists and practising students from near-by universities. The entire program is coordinated through the services of a director.

Patients in Sunny Acres Sanatorium are in various group classifications, depending upon their status as determined by the physician. Physical activities are based on this classification. The stated number of class periods has been determined for each group. It is important, however, to recognize that restrictions of these activities may be imposed by the physician in charge. All classifications require the written approval of the senior resident physician and the prescription is incorporated in the patient's medical record charts by the head nurse in attendance. While classifications are subject

to reorganization, Sunny Acres has until recently held to six groups. Revision now being undertaken will probably produce an additional group resulting from finer definition of activities within the already existing classifications. Here, for example, is the pattern of activities that is available for group number 3 patients:

Group Number 3 (Bed Patients with Minimum Exercise). These patients may be out of bed $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours in the morning, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours at noon, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the evening. This gives ample time to spare for recreation. Patients must use the elevator when it is necessary to go from one floor to another. The patients may attend one entertainment or church service per week in the auditorium.

Patients may have three 45-minute class periods per week in craft work and academic subjects:

1. All class instruction must be bedside work. Patients may use their up time for craft work or academic preparation. Activities may involve muscles up to elbow and, on improvement, up to shoulder. Notes may be taken on radio classes.

2. Psychological tests and vocational counseling are given when the need is indicated to the patients over the age of 16. The results of these tests and the interest of the patient are the bases of all class assignments.

3. Academic classes are provided by teachers from the Cleveland Board of Education and school credit may be given for work completed while at the sanatorium.

4. Activities other than academic work:

- a) The craft work mentioned in Group 2 may be used, with slightly heavier and larger pieces of materials. In addition, the following things are offered: weave-kits; colonial mats; carving in soft wood and on small pieces; chip carving; soap carving; leather work without stippling; bead work; cord knotting with shortened cords and lightweight cord; raffia work; needle point; fly tying; card weaving (shoestring purses, etc.); weaving on a 4-inch loom used for making belts; leather or wood burning; certain other light crafts comparable to those mentioned above.

- b) Pre-vocational or vocational activities may be offered at this stage: mechanical drawing and drafting, shorthand, blue-print reading, book-keeping.

A perusal of these activities reveals that several services are available for this group of patients; they include counseling and testing,

classwork in vocational and educational subject matter, occupational therapy, various diversional activities. This particular pattern is available for adult patients.

Adults also have a variety of entertainments and opportunities for self-expression. Ambulant patients may be permitted to participate in amateur hours, quiz bees, and to attend card and bingo parties. Full-length sound motion pictures are shown once a month through the courtesy of various producers. Arrangements for this are made through the Variety Club of Cleveland. Sixteen-millimeter sound and silent adult films are shown to ambulant patients once a week; these are available through the Cleveland Educational Museum. It is interesting to note that library service available through the Cleveland Public Library is also accessible.

The rehabilitation director has, as part of her essential duties, the scheduling of the activity of each patient and clears with medical advice on the suggested activities. A similar group of activities is set up for children. With the children, highly social activities are encouraged: They write and produce plays. They are taught to design and make all the properties and costumes as well as direct the production. The children have a newspaper for which they write articles. Special occupational therapy classes are held for certain groups, and these special classes provide periods of supervised free plays and games in the auditorium. The children form groups of their own; this is encouraged to teach leadership or to give experience in self-expression and to help develop the social graces.

It is necessary to state that, quite early in the hospital experience of the patient, a definite plan leading to a long-time objective is worked out to the satisfaction of the patient and with the cooperation of the rehabilitation workers. Before discharge, this plan has been checked by the workers within the medical institution and those with whom the patient must deal in his post-sanatorium experiences. These would include the personnel of the Association for the Crippled and Disabled, the State Rehabilitation Service, on

occasion the United States Employment Service, and a number of welfare and health agencies in the community.

The feasibility of vocational rehabilitation in the plan is stressed. Medical prognosis must be such as to permit acceptance by the State Rehabilitation Service. After the plan has been settled upon, and the patient has been discharged from the tuberculosis institution, the patient enters upon the second major phase of his rehabilitation.

The Post-Hospital Program

The Association for the Crippled and Disabled is peculiarly well equipped to provide distinct therapeutic service and, at the same time, vocational training leading to rehabilitation. Basically, two types of work programs exist within the organization. The first of these is a sheltered workshop program; the second a program leading to full-time employment. The admission requirements call for compliance with specific requirements. These are: (a) prescription by a doctor of medicine or an orthopedic specialist; (b) acceptance by the Association's special admissions committee; (c) a vocational plan; (d) approval by the Association's general physician and the specialist in the field of the patient's handicaps. The personnel planning for the Association includes medical personnel—including occupational and physical therapists—social service, sheltered shop workers, work-treatment shop supervisors, and a variety of instructors. These instructors vary with the needs of the organization and financial support. (Financial support for the Association is forthcoming almost entirely from the Community Chest Fund in Cleveland.) Cooperation on cost of teachers, etc., has at times been possible with other public and private agencies in Cleveland.

The work-treatment shop at the Association was opened in 1935 to meet a distinct community need. It was organized as a part of the sheltered shops department to give treatment through work on a doctor's prescription. It emphasizes adjustment to industry, especially for those persons with good prognoses who cannot enter indus-

try immediately for a full work day of seven hours. Such patients may enter work treatment two hours two days per week and gradually have this time increased to a full day as physical condition permits.

The need for adequate medical supervision was given serious consideration. It was decided that a prescription from the referring physician covering hours and types of activity for each individual was necessary. The monthly medical check-up, the weekly checking of weight, and daily checking of pulse and temperature have always been used. Daily rest periods are observed and nourishment is provided. Tuberculosis and cardiac specialists, a general physician, and full-time nurse have been necessary. Guidance from the Academy of Medicine Advisory Doctors Committees has been of great value.

At first, work activity was almost exclusively light factory assembling. Mimeographing and sewing were the first additions. Woodworking, typing, and shorthand were added a little later. There will be continued addition of activities as the need arises.

The Association has had problems related to wages, even as other similar organizations. When the shop was first developed, wages were paid for the work produced. This was gradually eliminated. The reasons for this were threefold: (1) Patients with limited work capacity were extending their efforts too far in order to earn as much as possible. The objectives of the shop, which called for graded activity under careful supervision to prevent physical breakdown, were being defeated. (2) It was found that the payment of wages had to be provided through a subsidy, because the amount of money resulting from contracts was not sufficient to cover wage costs. It was impossible to provide this subsidy at that time. (3) It was not always possible to meet the industrial standards for quality of work. It is interesting to note, however, that the Association has been making a definite contribution to the war effort through its work program. Various contracts calling for the production of cer-

tain types of simple assembling have been sublet to the Association by manufacturers of certain war supplies.

Vocational Training and Placement

In the building proper in which the Association is housed is located also the Cleveland office of the State Rehabilitation Service. This unusual physical arrangement has produced benefits for patients. The close physical proximity of the State Rehabilitation Service to the patients and their place of treatment has increased the number of good risks for rehabilitation service. The agents of the Rehabilitation Service, along with the supervisors of that district have "proof-of-the-pudding" evidence that patients, whether they be cardiac, tuberculous, paralytic, or those suffering from amputation or otherwise disabled, can stand up to certain types of work over stated periods of time. Further, these representatives of State service have intimate acquaintance with the medical history and prognosis of each patient who becomes their client. With such thorough acquaintance, training is considerably less of a financial hazard. Various categories of ignored disabled in other communities have not received much needed service from the official agencies, often because of possible reactivation of the disease or disability. The tuberculous are one of this group. It is interesting to note that where the tuberculous form from one to five per cent of the officially rehabilitated group in other communities, in Cleveland they approximate a much more substantial percentage. Other often ignored handicapped patients benefit likewise.

The staff of the Association and the medical institutions from which patients come originally are often called in on discussions regarding vocational planning for patients, especially in view of the fact that a plan has already been set up for each patient. The reader will observe that the plan actually started far back in the hospital experience of the patient. Even at that time, certain checking with the other cooperating agencies had been initiated in order that the

plan would be acceptable also to the Association and to the official rehabilitation service.

Placements are made quite realistically. The State Rehabilitation Service has been able to develop various types of training, often leading to immediate placement. For example, on-the-job training has been made possible even with patients who on occasion have not had a full-day work tolerance. The Rehabilitation Service recognizes that a wide variety of placement opportunities is possible for many types of physically handicapped. The fallacy that the blind must always do caning, the tuberculous must look for watch repair jobs and outside work, and that other types are limited in their scope to very few opportunities has been thrown over by the experience, initiative, and ingenuity of the agents of this Rehabilitation Service.

Below is a list of some of the job objectives of a number of their clients:

Home-economics teacher	Skilled assembly
Sewing—alterations	Office secretary
Die-scraper learner	Office clerk and receptionist
General office and bookkeeping	Draftsman on tool design
Stenographer	Comptometer operator
Draftsman	Typist and mail clerk
Tool control man	Power-machine operator
Planning engineer	Engraver's apprentice

Diversity in job objectives of this kind calls for careful matching of a client's skill to the needs of a job.

The United States Employment Service in Cleveland, with its Division for the Physically Handicapped, has also made a unique contribution to this problem. During the summer of 1942, at the peak of the manpower shortage, it had six interviewers devoted to this work and a typical month showed placements for over three hundred handicapped individuals. The total placements during

that particular month through that office amounted to over 8,000. Almost four per cent of the total placements were placements of physically handicapped persons. Relatively few offices of the United States Employment Service can show similar results.

It is difficult in a short statement to credit all those agencies directly involved in a cooperative effort of this type. The local Board of Education and the Health and Welfare Departments are to be applauded in their efforts to make this arrangement possible. Private welfare also has had a hand in supplementing the financial support of both patients and institutions. The local tuberculosis association provides the tuberculosis specialist on the staff of the Association. Other agencies have contributed generously to make the entire program possible.

The cost of a single tuberculous patient has been estimated as ranging from \$5,000 to \$10,000. If any one patient is rehabilitated, does not infect others, and supports himself as a result of this kind of work, the community benefits in a variety of ways. Not the least of these ways is the conversion of a community liability into a community asset. When one considers the variety of disabled patients who benefit from this organization, the observer realizes Cleveland's and Cuyahoga County's good fortune in having an intelligent and sound approach to the rehabilitation of the handicapped.

V. J. Sallak is field secretary of the rehabilitation service of the National Tuberculosis Association.

TEACHER LIABILITY AS CULTURE LAG

Herman P. Mantell

To what extent are teachers, supervisors, and administrators personally liable when they do something in the classroom or in the school that may be educationally constructive and creative but is

not prescribed in the syllabus, as a result of which a pupil may be accidentally injured?

Parents are asked to sign consent slips giving their permission to the teachers and to the school to take their children out on excursions or trips away from the school grounds. These consent slips usually contain waivers wherein the parents assume all liability in case of an accident. But what is the legal value of these consent slips?

Parents may waive their own rights but they cannot waive the rights of their children. This means that the parents have assumed liability and may not institute suit against the teachers or the school but the children involved in an accident still retain their rights to sue for personal injuries, and these rights are retained until they reach their majority and for one year thereafter.

Teachers ask children to bring into school tools, boxes, and other materials that can be used in school activities. This procedure is being used more widely today under the new experience curriculum or in the activity program. Let us suppose that a child brings in a carpenter's plane that is slightly defective and another child is injured while using it. What is the teacher's liability? The board of education may very safely contend that the defective plane was in the classroom without its knowledge and, since it was not supplied by the board, the board cannot be held liable for the injuries to the child on the theory of negligence. But the teacher may be held personally liable in such a case.

A woman came into the general office of a school and asked to see a teacher. The policy of this progressive school was to permit parents to interview teachers anent their children. The visitor gave a child's name and the clerk assumed that she was a parent. The teacher was notified and she saw the alleged parent in the library. However, the visitor's purpose was not to interview the teacher but to serve her with a legal paper. The teacher became emotionally disturbed and told the principal about it. The principal felt that the

purpose of his school was to create a healthy and wholesome environment in which the children can grow and that healthy and happy teachers were a necessary element in this environment. He, thereupon, had the process server arrested for trespassing in the school building and for impersonating a parent, but the case was dismissed by a city magistrate. The principal and the board of education were then sued for false imprisonment and malicious prosecution. After a trial, the case was dismissed against the board of education, but judgment was awarded the plaintiff against the principal, who had to pay.

Here was a progressive principal who was thinking of the general welfare of his pupils in terms of their complete environment, which includes the happiness of their teachers, who must pay a judgment for having done something that he believed was in the best interests of the children. The argument advanced against this principal's contention that his duties included the protection of his teachers as well as the protection of his students was that his duties included only the protection of his students. It was not within the scope of his employment to protect his teachers.

Many instances of lawsuits against teachers, administrators, supervisors, and boards of education could be given. In all of these suits, the board of education tried to absolve itself of any liability. The effect of this policy will be to create such a fear of personal liability among the teaching and administrative staffs that education will often be thwarted. This is especially true today. No matter how small the risk may be to the teacher or supervisor or administrator, that person will bear the full weight of any legal action if it is construed by the courts that the educator was not acting within the "scope of his employment." School officers, teachers, supervisors, administrators, school nurses, school doctors, visiting teachers, special per diem teachers, custodial staffs, and other educational agents and employees must correlate their work in order to make

of the school and its environment the happiest and most wholesome place in which the child can progressively grow and experience real lifelike situations.

These newer experiences, like the activity program, have added a further element of risk, which may result in personal injury and property damage through the use of tools and materials necessary for the child to gain the maximum advantages for himself from the situations provided for him in his school life. These newer experiences have also added to the responsibilities of all educational agents and employees who have no clear conception how far they may proceed in their teaching techniques, without fear of personal liability in the form of money damages or dismissal.

A study and analysis of New York State statutes, court decisions, and interpretations by lawyers and educators anent teacher liability result in the following conclusions:

1. An improved and freer education is most desirable in our democracy and in our democratic way of living.
2. While the above is desirable, it can only be accomplished by an alert and professionally minded and creative body of men and women necessary for its accomplishment.
3. However, these educational agents, teachers, supervisors, and administrators are, many times, reluctant to pursue freer and more creative methods and educational arrangements for fear that, if an injury to a person or property damages are occasioned, in the process of doing other than the ordinary they may become personally liable for such injuries or property damages.
4. Then followed certain legislation, like Section 881-a and Section 569-a of the New York State Education Law, that gave the teachers some protection but not enough. There was no uniformity by the courts in the application of the legal principles involved, which in turn gave rise to a new state of confusion.
5. There are no sections in the New York State Education Law that would dispel the fear of disciplinary action or dismissal from position, even though the educator is saved from a money judgment for personal injuries or property damages.

6. This leads to the necessity for more freedom for teachers, supervisors, administrators, and other educational agents so that they can pursue policies and execute programs that are more desirable professionally.

These conclusions should lead to new legislation to protect educators.

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THE AMERICAN PLAN FOR SOCIAL SECURITY; A COMMENT

Eveline M. Burns

Dr. McConnell's article¹ in the November issue of this JOURNAL criticizes a number of the proposals in the *Security, Work, and Relief Policies* report of the National Resources Planning Board. Many of the points he makes raise important and debatable issues. But three of his criticisms, namely, those concerning the nature of the proposed work program and the workers for whom it is intended, and the role of the regional unit of administration are based on so complete a misinterpretation of what was actually proposed in the report that I should appreciate the opportunity of correcting the impression given in Dr. McConnell's article.

1

Dr. McConnell states that the report proposes a work program that is to be exclusively for the "unemployable" or marginal worker. He cites in support of his assertion a reference in the document to "workers with relatively long periods of unemployment or those whose prospects of reabsorption are remote" (p. 512). He neglects to point out, however, that in its context this sentence is merely a summarization of a fuller discussion in which it is specifically stated that the general work program "should concentrate upon the un-

¹ This article is a rejoinder to the article of Dr. John W. McConnell in the November issue of this JOURNAL.

employed whose employment status has been interrupted for a relatively long period or whose prospects of re-employment in private industry are obviously remote *because of prevailing economic conditions*" (p. 506, my italics). This last clause, which Dr. McConnell does not quote, makes it clear, as does the preceding discussion (pp. 505-508), that the failure to obtain private employment is not due to qualities in the workers themselves but to prevailing economic facts, such as a continued depression, a declining industry, or residence in a depressed area.

Again and again throughout the recommendations, it is made clear that the persons for whom the general work program is to be available are people of normal employability: "... employment on public work projects should be dependent on standards of performance and efficiency similar to those normally required in private employment" (p. 505); "Access to the program should not be dependent upon undergoing an investigation of economic need" (p. 546); "Access to the work program should be through the employment office" (p. 546); "In referring applicants to the project administrators the employment service would select solely on the basis of labor market and employment considerations . . . those who have charge of the operation of work projects . . . must, like private employers, in the last resort have freedom to reject unsuitable applicants" (pp. 513-514).

Any final doubts as to the character of the group for whom the general work programs were intended could have been resolved by reference to page 506 where special therapeutic work programs for the "unemployables and less than normally efficient workers" are proposed. In proposing that these be kept separate from the general work program, the report specifically states "The development of special work programs would also facilitate the limitation of the general work program to those who can meet reasonable standards of performance and efficiency. For there would then be

available a program more appropriate for workers who cannot meet these standards" (p. 506).

2

Dr. McConnell charges that, in outlining the character of the public-work program, the writers of the report were unaware of the "elemental facts of worker's psychology" and make no proper provision for diversification of work or for the other conditions of employment that make a worker feel a job is a *real* job. Reference to chapter 9, where the WPA program is subjected to a critical analysis will, I think, convince any reader that the authors of the report were well aware of these elements (*see* especially pp. 243-251). They were also emphasized in the analysis of the local work programs. The recommendations lay considerable stress on the changes to be made, as compared with previous practice, if the worker is to feel that public work is to be regarded by the worker as a real job (e.g., by providing the customary guarantees of workmen's compensation, etc., by using adequate and appropriate machinery and equipment, by more diversification, and by careful advance planning so that the work will be in a real sense useful to and respected by the community). The report also drew attention to the price the country would have to be prepared to pay if such a program was to materialize and, in particular, pointed out that greater diversification of projects would mean that "some of these projects may well involve government in certain fields traditionally regarded as the preserve of private enterprise" (p. 491).

It is true that the report does not propose a permanent program of government work (other than that which would develop from the proposed expansion of public services) "with the intention of continuing as a going concern and not merely . . . as a temporary answer to mass unemployment." The reasons for proposing a more limited program are to be found on pages 490-491 and 504-508 and obviously involve matters of judgment and, as such, are subject

to debate. But I would submit that, in view of what is still the prevailing attitude on the part of the people of this country (including many workers) to "government ownership and operation," the report was following out Dr. McConnell's own injunction to take into account "worker's psychology," when it refrained from recommending so vast an expansion of government activity as his proposals would involve.

3

Dr. McConnell states that the report makes no comment on the use of regional administrative subdivisions or of their potentialities. On the contrary, the recommendations specifically urge "a fuller utilization of the regional basis or organization [which] offers the possibility of avoiding some of the less desirable characteristics of highly centralized administration, while overcoming some of the limitations of purely state-administered programs" and proceed to outline some of the steps that must be taken if the regional basis of organization is to be made more effective (pp. 499-500).

Recognition of the importance of regions as administrative units is also clear in the recommendations on the level of public-aid payments, where the suggestion is made (p. 514) that there should be regional minimums. Finally, the importance attached to the region is evident from the italicized conclusion of the critical analysis of the present use of regional units by the Federal agencies (pp. 404-406): "Finally and most importantly, the lack of coincidence of the geographical areas falling within the responsibility of the regional offices of the several Federal programs introduces obstacles to both the evaluation of, and the coordinated planning for, the improvement of the public aid programs operating within a given region."

Eveline M. Burns is not a new writer for this JOURNAL. Her article in the November issue has been discussed widely.

THE GREMLIN MYTH

Charles Massinger

All humanity lives under the influence of myths. Every man exercises the myth-making faculty to such extent as his intellect or limitations of it, his imagination, his environment prompt him to. These we might consider his inner myths, those illusions, perhaps, that he himself invents to circumvent the rigors of existence. From without there races in upon him a mass of mythical ideas that we might call external myths, which can be broadly classified in such categories as sociological, political, or religious myths. These cannot concern us here, since this paper is concerned with the single thesis of the nature of the "inner myth": the personally created illusion emerging from the impact of the individual with environment.

In its issue of December 7, 1942, the illustrated weekly magazine *Life* published a series of pictures and some scanty remarks concerning a phase of thinking that had become prevalent in the Royal Air Force and had subsequently infected the psychology of the American airmen in the present war. The matter was considered under the title of "Gremlins" and the Gremlins were depicted as being fantastic imps of both sexes who busied themselves constantly with hideous activities designed to destroy the proper functioning of the machines, and to deal death to the operators of them. Obviously, the matter was treated in a semi-, if not actually, humorous vein, and one might readily have gained the impression that here was another myth about a myth. Yet, from time to time reports have seeped through to the outside world that the psychological equation in the life of the flyer is a serious one; that the Air Corps administration concerns itself gravely with the problem of mental equilibrium in training and in combat. The matter of the "Gremlins" offers an absorbing problem in the field of psychological and philosophical investigation. It is quite possible that the Air Force is keenly aware of this problem, that it is giving it the most search-

ing analysis its psychiatric experts can bring to it, but the civilian world cannot be informed of these investigations at present and perhaps never will be.

Meantime from the standpoint of the civilian observer, the "Gremlin" article raises an absorbing problem in the analysis of the cause of such a myth on the part of the airmen. What are some of the circumstances that have led so large a body of men to believe so vividly in the existence of a world of fantastic and vicious little creatures that they are consciously aware of their actual presence under certain conditions? To explain this, it is necessary to look into the matter of sense impressions received under extraordinary circumstances, and if, in our study, we must take account of such sense impressions as fear, hallucinations, and illusions we should by no means consider these as derogatory to the character of the men involved. The adaptation of the peaceful, normal thinking man to the status of an air warrior cannot be completely accomplished without powerful changes in his psychological processes. Peaceful mind-sets and instinctive self-preservatory habits cannot be entirely eradicated.

That illusion is contributory to the "Gremlin" belief seems almost self-evident. While no records are available to substantiate the statement, it seems unlikely that those men who are now conscious of such a belief were even remotely given to indulgence in such fancies in the pursuance of their normal activities. Then, how has such an illusion occurred, if we can presume that the illusory faculty does enter into this experience? Illusion is explained as being "The experience and the result of misconstruing or misinterpreting some real sense stimulus . . . something actually stimulates the senses, and the sense experience itself is produced in a normal manner, but, owing to established habits of rapid association, the observer mistakes the thing for something different."¹

Without using a detailed breakdown explanation of the forego-

¹ See "Illusion," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

ing statement, it would seem clearly to throw some light on our subject. The visual, auditory, factual, and kinesthetic stimulations come from the darkness, cold, rushing wind and a variety of noises and vibrations of the machine, and these cause tenseness, alertness, and concern for the proper and efficient functioning of it and the armament. If pilots had sufficient time to think rationally about machine deficiencies under actual combat flying conditions, it is doubtful whether the pixy conception would have crept into their psychology. However, the habit of *rapid association* leads to fantastic imaginings rather than rational conclusions and the flyer presumes that some unaccustomed noise of the motor, some unusualness in the functioning of the plane, or some alarming circumstance such as the ripping of the wing covering, the jamming of a gun, the snapping of a vitally important wire or cable has been caused by some *abnormal* agent.

The Gremlins are accused of being responsible for all such difficulties and dangers. But this brings us face to face with the stark proposition that, regardless of the thoroughness of the training of the fighter airman, the breadth of his scientific knowledge relative to cause and effect of stress on the fighting machine, he has invented his own interpretation of these! This is explained by the observations on "Illusion" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica which says, "The normality and indeed the inevitableness of so many illusions constitute one of the serious problems in any attempt to vindicate the validity of human knowledge." Instruction in the case of the flyer can only prepare him theoretically for the conditions of combat. Combat simulated in training can only be a mild substitute for actual combat. Knowledge gained during the training period can only partially meet the exigencies of the situation. Many other momentary and almost inexplicable elements enter into the flyer's attempt to meet the situation successfully. It is possible the "Gremlin" belief serves some valuable purpose, which we will consider later on in this study when the matter of fancy and fiction in dan-

gerous living is considered. For the present, contributory psychological factors claim our attention.

The investigations of modern psychology into the mental processes have led to the conclusion that bodily condition can have a strongly determining effect upon the working of the mind. It can scarcely be doubted that this phenomenon can be considered pathological in its origin. The findings of neurologists and psychiatrists relative to both illusions and hallucinations (for our purposes interpreted as taking on the guise of a myth) emphasize strongly the pathological factor in these types of mental states. Both illusion and hallucination come under the general category of *false sense impressions*. The former seems to be less indicative of a dangerous mental condition and, as has been suggested, is partially *normal* in its occurrence. The hallucination state might be said to tend more toward a condition of hypnosis. Regardless of the unsavory implication of it, it is possible that hallucination may be a factor in the "Gremlin" myth.

Neurologists tell us that hallucination consists of "the experiencing of a sensory presentation having a sensory vividness that distinguishes perception from representative imagery induced by some stimulation of the sense organ coming from without or within the body." It can be auditory or visual. We have given some consideration to the external causes of the subject in discussing the illusion factor. If we choose to grant that hallucination may also be a part of this phenomenon, we are led to a consideration of the inner causes of it.

In 1901, Dr. H. Head of Chicago disclosed that patients suffering from more or less painful disorders of the heart, lungs, and abdominal viscera were liable to experience hallucinations of a peculiar kind. He found that visceral hallucinations, which were constantly accompanied by headache, were most commonly visual, rarely auditory. Where auditory visceral hallucinations occurred, Dr. Head proved that it was in no instance vocal but took such forms as

sounds of tapping, scratching, or rumbling. At all times the faculty, whether auditory or visual, was the result of an intense emotional state.

It would be unwise to offer these theories of hallucinations as conclusive proof that they are actually a part of the "Gremlin" belief, yet they do seem to shed some explanatory light on its existence. We do know that headache among the less specialized fighting forces constitutes a decided problem to the psychiatric specialists in the Army. Night flying, high altitudes, blind flying, diving, and other stunts necessary to the effective manipulation of planes in combat apparently tend to effect extraordinary changes in the organic and subsequently the nervous balance of the men. A chronic irritation of the sensory nerves ensues. The cortical system, ordinarily functioning smoothly in the reception of ordinary sense impressions, is flooded by a constant stream of new and unaccustomed impressions. The usual cortical channels become blocked and there is a damming up of sensations that cannot find an accustomed interpretation. Dr. Head explains this condition by saying "any such constant irritation (of the brain channels) supplies a stream of disorderly impulses rising constantly from the sense organ, for the reception of which the brain has no appropriate system." If we accept the thesis that delusion is a resultant phenomenon of bodily disorders, the findings of the Head investigations would seem to throw further light on the subject of the "Gremlins."

But it is also possible that fear may be a contributing factor in the matter and here we reach less uncertain ground and come to a more cheerful (or perhaps less serious) consideration of the problem; for fear is both a natural and a valuable instinct, which arises in the face of danger and in direct proportion to the extent it is controlled. With the added factor of awareness, which it arouses, it can avert disaster. Where fear can serve as a preservative agent it is a valuable asset.

William James says that "fear is a reaction aroused by the same

object that arouses ferocity . . . we both fear and wish to kill anything that may kill us. In civilized life, in particular, it has at least become possible for large numbers of people to pass from the cradle to the grave without ever having had a pang of genuine fear. The atrocities of life become 'like a tale of little meaning though the words are strong' (to most individuals)." The point has been made before in this study that the great percentage of the flying corps has come from the ranks of those previously uninitiated into the hazards of the air—even in peacetime. Those who had had previous air combat experience are probably not "Gremlin" believers. The business of death in the air is to them a grim reality and they invent no fiction concerning it. But many of the younger fliers would have, like James's protected souls, "passed from the cradle to the grave without a pang of genuine fear," had there been no war. Thus, we must surmise that they have invented their own peculiar fancies and retreats to meet this dangerous situation.

To suppose that the "Gremlin" myth can be anything but a matter of serious concern, an idea resultant from the impact of man with the supernatural, is empty thinking. James states that "fear of the supernatural is one variety of fear . . . certain ideas of supernatural agency, associated with real circumstances produce a peculiar kind of horror. This horror is probably explicable as the result of a combination of simpler horrors. To bring the ghostly terror to its maximum, many usual elements of the dreadful must combine, such as loneliness, darkness, inexplicable sounds of a dismal character, moving figures half discerned and vertiginous baffling of expectations." All these things would seem to be contributory factors in the airmen's belief in a world of supernatural beings. We must grant, however, that the teleology of fear is largely dubious; that we can consider its appearance either as a result of pathological disturbance or as a useful and normal functioning of the self-preservative instinct. In the case of the pixy belief it is probably more strongly the latter than the former.

Perhaps the least alarming of the possible psychological elements in this bit of aviation lore is the consideration that it may result from temporary neurosis. The word itself has an unpalatable connotation but only through the agency of misconception. Investigators of abnormal psychology have long ceased to class neuroses among the more dangerous of the mind's aberrations. They recognize that in some form or other neurosis forms a partial concomitant of the mentality of mankind generally and they have taken pains to arrive at a determination of the meaning of the term that has completely divested it of the unsavory connotation popularly ascribed to it. The neurologists have concluded that neuroses are functional nervous disorders and from this conclusion we might safely assume that they can, under certain circumstances, serve a salutary purpose. Their investigations have led to the conclusion that they represent little more than one particular way of responding to difficult stages in mental development, which are of universal occurrence. Neuroses really constitute varieties of social adjustment, rather than any disease in the ordinary sense. Such nervous disorders do not happen to a person as an infection or an accident may; they are integral and dynamic expressions of the personality. They cannot be described without imparting the idea of purpose, the idea of their being designed to meet certain mental situations.

And thus, if neurosis may ultimately be found to be a partial factor in the "Gremlin" belief, this myth may be contributory to a more successful solution of living under difficult and dangerous circumstances. It then serves an age-old purpose, for it enables the believer to meet the unpredictable mutations of living with greater equanimity.

Quite justifiably we may say that the "Gremlin" myth serves the useful purpose of filling in those inevitable gaps frequently occurring in the thought trends of rational man, for no man lives by fact and reason alone. And thus it may come about that such a dramatic fiction as we are here considering may reveal to its believer more the

movement and the reality of existence than any rational experience or prosaic observation could ever do. In fact there might be more reality in *seeming*, although we could grant that *seeing* might be the naked truth. No one has ever seen a "Gremlin"!

Finally in the case of the "Gremlins" can we presume that such a fancy supports a fact? Here nothing convinces us that we have arrived at a substantial truth, although the idea itself poses such fascinating problems. In fact we should be inclined to accept the idea but discard the fact which it implies, following, in our rejection of the fact possibility, Dr. Marie Collins Swabey's explanation of such a procedure. Dr. Swabey suggests that "an idea may be taken as contrary to fact in at least two ways. In the first place, it may be regarded both as disagreeing with the facts of the physical world and as theoretically incomprehensible (through its apparent fantasy or inconsistency with other beliefs). Such an idea is plainly a falsehood. Yet if, instead of rejecting it as in the case of most falsehoods, the mind retains it as possessing some practical and emotional value, it is called a fiction. The mental attitude is one of feigning. That is, the idea is asserted *as if* true, even though the person holding it recognizes it as both factually and theoretically impossible. He continues to put it forward because he finds it emotionally satisfying. . . ."

Thus, while we can hardly believe that the "Gremlin" belief springs from the side of man's deliberative nature, we can scarcely question the point that it must have some efficacious purpose, for in danger man seemingly invents his own essential postulates. Fiction may assume the guise of fact if only temporarily. The battle of the skies robs man of those stable mental moorings of accustomed existence. For the flyer the philosophical aura of the modern world that strips nature of personality and reduces it to the unknown cause of an orderly impression on our senses has vanished. Suddenly, in a strange environment, the army of spirits which has been receding farther and farther from us, banished by the magic wand of science,

returns to taunt the airmen in the skies. The myths and fables of an older age and long forgotten peoples begin to reassert themselves. Can it be that they are the refuge of the troubled mind?

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ENROLLMENT OF BLIND PUPILS IN THE UNITED STATES

Berthold Lowenfeld and Evelyn C. McKay

It has long been recognized that the number of pupils enrolled in schools and classes for the blind, in proportion to the general population, varies from State to State. The extent of such variation, however, and its underlying causes have never been subjected to statistical analysis. Through presentation and interpretation of available data, this paper will attempt to set forth the facts regarding variation of blind-pupil enrollment in different parts of the United States; to indicate some of the factors involved; to trace and evaluate these factors; and to develop statistical criteria for future studies.

Before undertaking to discuss the data presented, it should probably be explained that, because of the comparatively small number of blind children in the total population, the provision of special educational facilities for them in their home communities is seldom practicable. The majority of blind children, therefore, are educated in residential schools, either maintained by the State or receiving State aid. In a few large cities, special classes for the blind (known as "braille" or "day-school" classes) are maintained in the public schools. The term "blind enrollment" used throughout this paper includes pupils of both residential schools and day-school classes.¹

¹For educational purposes, the definition of blindness approved by the American Association of Workers for the Blind is "a person is blind who cannot safely or profitably be trained in the manner of the seeing. It is generally agreed that a person with visual acuity in the better eye of less than 20/200 should be instructed by use of tactile methods." *Proceedings* of the American Association of Workers for the Blind, 1929, p. 183.

It should also be pointed out that the children referred to in this study as blind are those who receive their education mainly by tactual instead of visual methods—for instance, by reading embossed print with their fingers, by using embossed maps, etc. In a few residential schools so-called “sight conservation” or “sight-saving” classes are provided for children who, though suffering from visual defects, are able to learn to a certain extent from specially adapted visual material. Neither these children nor children in sight-conservation classes in public schools are included in blind enrollment.

Particular attention will be given in this study to the group of children in schools and classes for the blind who, on the basis of their visual efficiency, should actually not be educated by tactual methods. These children are frequently sent to schools for the blind for reasons other than defective vision, although they may be able to attend sight-saving classes or even regular classes in public schools. Their education by “blind methods” in residential schools seems, therefore, to be unjustifiable.

For the purposes of this study the total enrollment of children in public, private, and parochial schools, both elementary and secondary, is referred to as “general enrollment.” Comparison of blind enrollment with general enrollment by States and regions not only reveals certain statistically significant data but also offers an opportunity for interpretation of variations in rates of enrollment.

While the available data yield a rate of blind enrollment to general enrollment as it actually exists, interpretation of the data in the light of underlying causes will lead to a “corrected” rate of blind enrollment which would meet the standards set by our present knowledge in the fields of ophthalmology and education.

The study follows the grouping of States into regional divisions as outlined in Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States*.^{*}

Statistics published by the United States Office of Education fur-

^{*} Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 5-11.

nish the data on the enrollment of pupils in public schools³ and in private and parochial schools.⁴ Figures for the public and nonpublic schools were added, State by State, and are presented in Table I⁵ under the heading "General Enrollment, 1938."

Data on enrollment of pupils in residential schools and day-school classes for the blind⁶ were compiled by the American Foundation for the Blind and represent the number of pupils as of January 1, 1938.⁷ Supplementary information was secured by direct correspondence with the responsible authorities. Of the total blind enrollment of 6,222 reported for 1938, 5,713 (92 per cent) were in residential schools for the blind, and 509 (8 per cent) were attending classes for the blind in the public schools.

Figures for general population in the age group 5-19 years and for age distribution of the population for each State are taken from the 1940 census of population.⁸ The total population reported in this age group was 34,764,080.

Table I presents a comparison of blind enrollment and general enrollment by regions. Since the resulting rate varies greatly from State to State and from region to region, figures on the general population of school age (5-19 years) have been included, in order to indicate the proportion of the school-age population actually attending schools. The percentage of this school-age population in school varies from 73.3 in Louisiana to 92.0 in Oklahoma. Regionally, New England, Middle Atlantic, Middlewest, Northwest, and Far West show no great differences in this respect, ranging

³ Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: *Statistics of State School Systems*, 1937-38. Bulletin 1940, No. 2, Ch. ii; Table III, p. 9. Federal Security Agency (Washington, D. C.: United States Office of Education).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Table 62, pp. 169-170.

⁵ See page 375 for tables.

⁶ Ruth Elizabeth Wilcox and Helga Lende, compilers, *Directory of Activities for the Blind in the United States and Canada* (3d ed., New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1938).

⁷ The present study refers to the year 1938, because this was the most recent year for which all comparable data were available.

⁸ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. "Population Characteristics"* (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census).

from 83.8 to 87.4 per cent. The southeast and southwest regions however, show a notably smaller proportion enrolled in schools, 76.1 and 80.0 per cent, respectively.

It might have been expected that the factors that are responsible for this variation in percentage of enrollment of school-age population would have a similar effect on the rates of blind enrollment, but this is not the case. As the figures for the States show, the variations in the rate of blind enrollment to general enrollment bear no apparent relation to the variations in proportional enrollment of school-age population. The question therefore arises as to what are the underlying causes for the differences in the rates of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment from State to State and from region to region. In general, these differences seem to follow a geographic pattern. Again, New England, Middle Atlantic, Middle-west, Northwest, and Far West show no striking variation, the regional rates ranging from 18.9 to 20.5. The two southern regions, Southeast and Southwest, however, have much higher rates, 25.3 and 30.0, respectively. There is a variation of rates from State to State in the seven regions—with the following differences: in New England, New Hampshire (14.2) has the lowest and Rhode Island (24.1) the highest rate; in the Middle Atlantic, New Jersey (15.9) shows the lowest, while the rates of Maryland (25.2) and West Virginia (28.5), the two most southern States in this region, are much higher; in the Southeast, Mississippi (15.5) and Georgia (17.7) show very low rates, contrary to the general trend in this region, while North Carolina (33.4) has a very high rate; in the Middle region, Missouri (13.0) has the lowest and Iowa (32.5) has the highest rate; in the Southwest, Oklahoma (24.5) has the lowest and Arizona (38.6) and New Mexico (65.5) have the highest rates; in the Northwest, Nebraska (17.5) and Colorado (17.6) are low and North Dakota (24.9) and South Dakota (25.4) are higher in their rates; the Far West shows California (14.6) with the lowest and Oregon (43.9) with the highest rate in this region. Such striking

difference in rates of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment should receive careful consideration by the State and local authorities concerned and lead to some action on their part. A further study of the same subject, presenting the figures for some later year, will be prepared, which should be indicative of trends.

There are various factors that may be responsible for the wide variations in rate discussed above, among them the following:

1. A genuine difference in incidence of blindness among children
2. The degree of effectiveness of case-finding procedures
3. Social or economic factors that work in favor of or against
 - a) the extent to which educational facilities for blind children are provided, and
 - b) the extent to which they are enabled to utilize such facilities
4. Differences in standards of admission to schools and classes for the blind, particularly in regard to the definition of blindness

The first three factors can be evaluated only locally by persons who have a thorough knowledge of conditions prevailing in the area concerned. The last mentioned factor lends itself more readily to further analysis, because reliable data on degree of visual handicap were available on blind enrollment in 1938.

Through the efforts of the Committee on Statistics of the Blind, sponsored jointly by the American Foundation for the Blind and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, records for the school year 1937-1938 were available on the degree of vision of 3,993 children in 39 schools and classes for the blind.* It is generally considered that children with visual acuity of less than 20/200 (Snellen measurements) in the better eye with correcting lenses should be educated in schools or classes for the blind. Children with visual acuity between 20/200 and 20/70 belong in sight-conservation classes and children with vision better than 20/70 should in general—as far as their vision is concerned—be able to participate in regular

* C. Edith Kerby and Evelyn C. McKay, "Eye Conditions Among Pupils in Schools for the Blind, 1937-38," *Outlook for the Blind*, xxxiii (December 1939), pp. 140-144.

public-school instruction. Children with visual acuity of 20/200 are borderline cases and their educational placement depends on the adjustment and intelligence of the individual child. In order to make the findings of this paper conservative, these borderline children have been considered as belonging to the group for whom tactual education is appropriate.

Table II presents, besides the blind enrollment and the rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment, the total number of cases for which amount of vision was reported and the number of pupils whose vision was better than 20/200. Pupils belonging to this latter group should, because of their high degree of vision, not be educated in schools or classes for the blind. In addition, Table II gives the regional percentage figures for this high-vision group as compared with the total number of cases for which degree of vision is reported. The number of pupils in the group with vision better than 20/200 shows, as far as data were available, great differences from State to State reflecting clearly different standards in the admission policies of schools and classes for the blind. The comparatively high rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment in certain States coincides with, and may find an explanation in, the large number of pupils in the high-vision group. The lack of data on distribution by degree of vision for some States with particularly high rates of blind enrollment makes definite conclusions difficult.

Table III, "Actual and 'Corrected' Blind Enrollment by Regions," is essentially derived from Table II. The percentages available show that in two regions, Southwest and Far West, the coverage could not be considered representative, being only 20.2 and 25.8 per cent, respectively. In the five other regions, the proportion of cases covered by eye records was sufficiently large (52.2 to 100.0 per cent) to be regarded as a representative sample and to justify the drawing of conclusions. The percentages of pupils with too much vision to belong in schools and classes for the blind are given in the second column. New England with 5.1 per cent and the Northwest with

17.4 per cent are the extremes. The next column gives the total blind enrollment for the respective regions. The "corrected" blind enrollment is arrived at by applying the percentage of high-vision pupils, as determined by the sample, to the total enrollment and subtracting the resulting number from the total enrollment. We then find that, instead of the actual blind enrollment of 6,222 pupils, the "corrected" blind enrollment would be only 5,569, which represents a reduction of 10.5 per cent in the number of pupils in the United States for whom education in schools or classes for the blind need be provided. The importance of such a reduction, from the standpoint of school administration, as well as that of financial expenditure, needs no further emphasis. Most serious of all considerations, however, is the effect upon these seeing children who are placed in an environment and educated by methods that by their very nature are entirely unsuited to the children's needs.

As a matter of further clarification, Table III presents the actual rate and the "corrected" rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment. The "corrected" rate still follows a geographic pattern. New England, Middle Atlantic, and Northwest vary only from 17.0 to 18.1. The Southeast, however, shows a "corrected" rate of 22.5, which seems to point to a genuinely higher incidence of blindness in that area unless other explanations can be found. As pointed out previously, data for the Southwest which might support this assumption were unfortunately not available for 1938. The high rate of blind enrollment in this region supports our assumption.

Turning finally to the rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment for the United States as a whole, a word might be added to explain the reason for using a rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment rather than per 100,000 school-age population. Blind enrollment includes all pupils in residential schools and public-school classes for the blind without regard to age limit. (About 10 per cent of the blind enrollment is above nineteen years of age.) Furthermore, it does not include children who may be edu-

cated elsewhere or left without education. The figures for general enrollment have these same characteristics, while those given for school population (age 5-19 years) are based on a comprehensive census and represent an exactly defined measure of a certain age group of the population. A comparison of blind enrollment with general enrollment seemed therefore preferable.

Kerby states in her report for 1939-1940: "It is estimated that approximately three-fourths of the entire group receiving special education as blind persons in the elementary and secondary grades are included. . . ." and "The estimates that we have computed show a rate of 17.8 blind per 100,000 of the population of school age."¹⁰ Our material, using complete figures for blind enrollment and the population of school age as determined in the 1940 census, results in a rate of 17.9 per 100,000 of the school-age population for the United States as a whole, confirming Kerby's estimate.

On the basis of the information submitted in this study we find that, in 1938, for every 100,000 pupils enrolled in public schools, 21.7 pupils were enrolled in schools and classes for the blind. If all pupils with vision better than 20/200 had been properly placed in public schools only 19.4 pupils for each 100,000 of the general enrollment would have been attending special schools for the blind. This "corrected" rate of blind enrollment will be realized, when children whose vision makes tactual education unnecessary are provided for adequately and more suitably outside the schools and classes for the blind. This is an aim for which all educational administrators, whether in the general or the special field, should strive.

¹⁰ C. Edith Kerby, "Eye Conditions Among Pupils in Schools for the Blind in the United States, 1939-40," *Outlook for the Blind and the Teachers Forum*, xxxvi (February 1942), pp. 16, 18.

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TABLE I

BLIND ENROLLMENT AND GENERAL ENROLLMENT BY REGIONS

Region	Blind Enrollment 1938	General Enrollment 1938	Rate of Blind Enrollment per 100,000 General Enrollment	Population Age 5 to 19 Years 1940	Per Cent of Population Age 5 to 19 Years Enrolled
New England	346	1,813,419	19.1	2,079,978	87.2
Middle Atlantic	1,284	6,811,458	18.9	7,955,988	85.6
Southeast	1,700	6,702,846	25.3	8,813,643	76.1
Middlewest	1,473	7,441,641	19.8	8,878,319	83.8
Southwest	692	2,306,706	30.0	2,884,352	80.0
Northwest	355	1,732,096	20.5	2,030,396	85.3
Far West	372	1,854,425	20.1	2,121,404	87.4
Totals	6,222	28,662,591	21.7	34,764,080	82.4

TABLE II

BLIND ENROLLMENT AND DISTRIBUTION BY AMOUNT OF VISION

Region	Blind Enrollment 1938	Rate of Blind Enrollment per 100,000 General Enrollment	Distribution by Amount of Vision		
			Cases Reported	Better Than 20/200 Number	Per Cent
New England	346	19.1	350	18	5.1
Middle Atlantic	1,284	18.9	1,006	76	7.6
Southeast	1,700	25.3	888	101	11.4
Middlewest	1,473	19.8	1,254	136	10.8
Southwest	692	30.0	(140)	(12)	(8.6)
Northwest	355	20.5	242	42	17.4
Far West	372	20.1	(96)	(33)	(34.4)
Totals	6,222	21.7	3,976	418	10.5

NOTE: Figures in parentheses are not representative because they are based on too small percentages.

TABLE III

ACTUAL AND "CORRECTED" BLIND ENROLLMENT BY REGIONS

Region	Per Cent of Blind Enrollment for Which Eye Records Were Available	Per Cent of Eye Records Showing Vision Better Than 20/200	Total Blind Enrollment 1938	"Corrected" Blind Enrollment	Rate of Blind Enrollment per 100,000 General Enrollment Actual	Rate of Blind Enrollment per 100,000 General Enrollment "Corrected"
New England	100.0	5.1	346	328	19.1	18.1
Middle Atlantic	78.3	7.6	1,284	1,186	18.9	17.4
Southeast	52.2	11.4	1,700	1,506	25.3	22.5
Middlewest	85.1	10.8	1,473	1,314	19.8	17.7
Northwest	68.2	17.4	355	293	20.5	17.0
Total for the seven regions of the United States	63.9	10.5	6,222	5,569	21.7	19.4

NOTE: Figures for two regions, Southwest and Far West, are not included in the tabulation because eye records were available for only 20.2 and 25.8 per cent, respectively, of the blind enrollment; figures for these two regions, however, are included in the total.

THE EXPERIENCE BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS IN TRAINING

E. DeAlton Partridge

Studies of the way in which children learn have shown that they can be taught real meanings only through actual experience. What a child gains from reading a book, for example, is determined to a large extent by what his past experience has been. This, of course, is why modern educators place so much stress upon activity curriculum, field trips, and community education, in order that learning may be more exact and organized around related whole experiences.

Those who study educational psychology in college these days read passages like the following in their texts:

Throughout our entire discussion on the nature of meaning and the development of understanding, we have constantly emphasized the importance of extending, enriching, and deepening the individual's experience. How can the school accomplish this purpose?

One of the first steps should be to exploit the local environment, to the fullest possible extent. Nature study, general science biology, and physical science are usually too bookish as they are now taught. The woods, streams, rocks, farm lands, and natural phenomena of all kinds are laboratories as essential as the formal laboratory and classroom. . . .¹

If the teaching process must be rooted in reality, then those who are trained as teachers should have a background of real experience themselves. A teacher who has been trained only in book learning is hardly adequately prepared to use the immediate environment, to help youngsters develop concepts based on reality. Where the experience background of the teacher is limited, the teaching process often deteriorates into a process of word learning and word repetition with little direct reference to actuality.

The Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education noted the effect of this deficiency upon the efficiency

¹ Arthur I. Gates, Arthur T. Jersild, T. R. McConnell, and Robert C. Challman, *Educational Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), p. 443.

of teachers. The Director of the Commission, Karl W. Bigelow, has observed that

. . . As the period of teacher-preparation lengthens, the importance of early and continuous contact with reality increases. The study of scientific findings regarding children is essential . . . but so is the study of children. The same may be said with respect to the community. Nor is it enough to study the child and the community merely in the sense of observation. Opportunities to work responsibly with young people and older groups must be provided. Another type of first-hand experience that may be mentioned has to do with self-expression. Such expression may be through the creative use of words, or paint, or clay, or other artistic media; it may be through social relations in groups formed for recreational or other purposes.

In the preparation of teachers great stress is placed on courses. In order to graduate from a teacher-training institution the student must fill groups of course requirements. Specific courses are listed in most certifying requirements in the various States. These requirements are set forth as the minimum background necessary for successful teaching.

But if the psychologists are right, book and classroom learning may not be enough. They suggest that exact and full meanings can come only from firsthand experience and that the best teachers, other things being equal, are those who have a wide experience background. For example, it is a travesty for teachers who have never seen a farm, let alone lived on one, to try and talk to youngsters about life on the farm.

This is the report of a study that has attempted some preliminary explorations into the experience background of teachers in training to determine how much individual variation there is in this respect. The investigation was suggested, when the writer discovered in a sophomore class in educational psychology that nearly one third of the students were under the impression that the average chicken laid ten or more eggs a week.

The Instrument

A questionnaire titled "Reality Inventory" was prepared for distribution among students in teachers colleges. The blank consisted of three full pages, the first of which was made up largely of general questions such as sex, year in college, size of home city, hobbies, major field of interest, etc. The balance of the blank contained 74 specific questions about previous experiences. The student was asked to indicate after each statement whether he had "never" had the experience, whether he had had it "sometime in his life," "within the past month," or "within the past year."

Subjects of the Study

The 414 (338 women, 76 men) students who filled out the questionnaire were from four State teachers colleges, all located in a large city or within a metropolitan area. The students represented all class levels from freshmen to seniors and were selected more or less at random throughout each of the colleges. The preponderance of women students is indicative of the sex ratio in the student bodies of the colleges.

Instructions to all students before they filled out the blanks included the statement that they should not sign their names and there was no attempt to identify the students through the blanks. This was in the hope of securing a more truthful response to the questions.

Individual Differences in Experience Background

The individual differences in experience background as shown on the returned questionnaires are interesting. The range is wide, as shown by the fact that one student indicated only two items on the list of 74 which he had never experienced, while another student indicated 52 of the 74 were not in her experience background. Between these two extremes there was a distinct tendency toward a normal distribution with a median at 30.

In other words, there were shown wide individual differences in experience background that seemed to be distributed among the students in much the same way that intelligence is distributed. Men students showed a slightly wider range of experience than women, but the overlapping was great. The present investigation does not include data on the intelligence of the subjects but the relationship between experience background and mental ability suggests a field for further investigation.

If those who claim that experience background is important to good teaching are correct, then the administrator who hires teachers should recognize the wide individual differences that exist and include items of this kind in the personal interview. Furthermore, if experience background is important, then the institutions engaged in the training of teachers should have some method of measuring this background and some plan for enlarging it.

If the responses from this sampling of 414 undergraduates is typical and valid, then there are some cases of extreme lack in experience background among those who aspire to be teachers. Take as an example the following student, a mathematics major and science minor; freshman in college; male, age 17. He has been in two States besides the one in which he lives; thinks a chicken lays ten or more eggs a week. This student indicated on the questionnaire that he had never done 47 of the 74 things listed. Among those he indicated he had never experienced were the following:

Attended a professional stage play; visited a modern housing project; listened to a symphony clear through; ridden in a subway; been to an opera performed by a professional group; ridden in a taxi; stayed overnight in a hotel; been above 10,000 feet on a mountain; slept on the ground in the open or under a tent; hiked a distance of ten miles or more; preserved or helped preserve fruit; raised vegetables to eat; stayed awake all night; learned to drive a car; fixed a light plug; chopped wood with an ax; earned money by making something with his hands; been without food twenty-four hours or more except when ill; cooked a complete meal for two or more persons; cooked a meal out of doors; taken complete

care of a child or children under ten years of age for twenty-four hours or more.

Will this young man be adequately prepared to teach pupils to face the problems of American life after three more years of college if this experience background remains approximately the same? Will formal courses alone prepare him adequately? Should there be some way to guide him into a broader pattern of experience just as definitely as to guide him into a course of study? Should administrators who interview him for a job look into this type of information as well as into his scholastic ratings and character qualifications?

These are questions that naturally come to mind when one examines a record such as the one above—and his record is not an exception. Similar patterns can be found among the questionnaires for students of all levels in college, for both sexes and for most every subject-matter field. Certainly, if the psychologists who have studied the nature of learning and the way pupils acquire meanings are correct, then a student with an experience background such as that outlined above is not adequately prepared to be a good teacher upon the completion of courses alone.

Collective Experience Backgrounds

Just which of the 74 items on the questionnaire are most significant would be hard to prove. Perhaps some future study can show the relationship between successful teaching and certain patterns of past experience. However, until that time it will be necessary to observe the paucity of experience in some areas and speculate as to their significance.

To the writer, some of the most interesting tabulations center around the outdoor experiences of the students. Forty-three per cent of the women and 28 per cent of the men said they had never slept out of doors in their lives. Eleven per cent of the women and 8 per cent of the men answered no to the query of whether they had ever made a fire outdoors. These answers suggest that the average student body in eastern teachers colleges has a surprising lack of

real experience as a background for their future profession. In a world where millions of people are starving to death 82 per cent of the women and 74 per cent of the men students in this study have never been without food twenty-four hours or more except when they were ill. And yet these are the future teachers who try to help American youth gain appreciation for the problems of the world.

One eighth of the women and one third of the men have never cooked a complete meal for two or more people in their lives, while 62 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women have never preserved or helped preserve fruit. Are such persons prepared to teach the problems in relation to producing and conserving of food to the youth of our country? Will the course of study they are taking in college prepare them adequately?

In these days of stress on physical fitness, it is interesting to note that 53 per cent of the students (37 per cent of the men and 60 per cent of the women) say they have never walked ten miles or more at one time in their lives. Further investigation would no doubt show them equally lacking in experience in using their hands (31 per cent of the women in this study said they had never sawed a board through, 60 per cent had never fixed a light plug, and 36 per cent had never chopped wood with an ax).

On the other hand there are some experiences which seem to reach the majority of young people in this study. The experiences that most every student had include the following:

Ridden on a subway; ridden on a train; visited a museum; eaten in a restaurant; visited the city hall in their own city; been to New York City; attended a wedding; ridden in a taxi.

Summary

This study, based on a questionnaire return from 414 (338 women, 76 men) teachers in training in four State teachers colleges would seem to indicate the following things:

1. The experience background of these undergraduates shows a wide variation among both men and women.

2. The individual scores, based on the number of experiences the students indicated they had never had, distribute themselves more or less normally over a wide range from 2 to 52.
3. Men have a slightly broader background of experience than women, but on the items included in this study the difference is not very great.
4. A surprising number of the students show a lack of actual experience in the activities common to Americans of a generation ago. Chopping wood, sleeping outdoors, raising and preserving food, walking, and similar activities are lacking in the background of many students.
5. Certain individuals who filled out the questionnaire show an unusual lack of experience so far in their lives and, unless some deliberate attempt is made to enrich this background, they will enter the teaching profession with shallow verbal concepts about many of the things they are expected to teach.

Conclusions

This study is at best only a preliminary investigation and, as is usual in such instances, it raises more questions than it answers. Among the questions that come to mind are the following:

1. What is the relation between intelligence as measured on standardized tests and experience background?
2. What relation is there between experience background and success as a teacher?
3. How does the experience background of these teachers in training compare with other groups of similar age and economic background?
4. What efforts are being made by teacher-training institutions to meet this evident lack in the background of some students?

Concerning what teacher-training institutions could do to expand the experience background of their students, one can find programs in actual operation that certainly move in this direction. In some colleges an active program of field studies is a regular part of the college curriculum. Other colleges have camps that they use on week ends and during the summer to enable students to have experiences which would otherwise not be possible. Some liberal-arts colleges have worked out a plan of student work, along with

academic preparation, as a part of college training. These are all hopeful movements and would seem to produce a person much better suited to teach than those prepared only in classroom routine.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Race Question and the Negro, by JOHN LA FARGE, S. J. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943, 315 pages.

This work, with a rather curious title, is a new edition of the same author's *Interracial Justice*, which first appeared in 1937. The original work included discussions of "race" differences, the status of the Negro in the United States, issues such as economic opportunity, segregation and intermarriage, and the "solutions" offered. The four new chapters treat race relations as a world issue in wartime.

Generally speaking, this is a book by a Catholic leader for Catholic readers. This may be its greatest value. It applies, with copious quotations from official sources, the Catholic doctrine to this problem of American life. Books that are predicated on the accepted principles of an institution are doubtlessly much more influential within these areas than "outside" productions, which may deny the basic assumptions and beliefs.

New World A-Coming, by ROI OTTLEY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943, 364 pages.

This book is the winner of a Life in America prize. It is a reportorial account of life in the Negro community of America, principally Harlem. The author has served for many years as reporter and columnist for the New York *Amsterdam Star News* as an apprenticeship for this task.

While the book gives a rich background of history and lore of the race relations of New York City, its value is perhaps much greater for the light it sheds upon the social milieu out of which the Negro comes. It should be an invaluable document for teachers and other workers who are in constant contact with the Negro. It should serve as a wholesome antidote for the stereotypes that dominate the public's thinking about him.

Questions such as the following are treated: What is the Negro's attitude toward the war? Do Negroes want Communism? What is slum shock? How does the Negro conceive himself in this world conflagration? Is he conscious of his role, and if so what is it in relation to the race relations of the United Nations?

The study is not done in protest fashion, after that of Richard Wright. It is objective, unemotional, simply written, and scholarly. The importance of the social backgrounds as a basis of educational development bristle from every page. Mr. Ottley has done a superb service in the presentation of this study.

The Darker Brother, by BUCKLIN MOON. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1943, 246 pages.

This is a sincere effort by a liberal to present a picture of what goes on in Negro life today. It is, of course, a segment. The locale is Harlem. The characters are lower class in-migrants from the South who are caught up in the whirling processes of urbanization. Through them the reader sees events and movements that he may have read about in the newspapers.

This is a good first novel and is done with honesty and without condescension. However, it misses the positive drive for life which seems to be characteristic of Negro behavior these days.

Brown Americans: The Story of a Tenth of the Nation, by EDWIN R. EMBREE. New York: The Viking Press, 1943, 248 pages.

This is an improvement of *Brown America: The Story of a New Race*, by the same author, which appeared in 1931. The present work has been brought up-to-date in terms of new materials and the slightly changed language now used in discussing "race relations."

This book is mainly about the Negro in the South. It reflects the views of an informed liberal. In highly readable—and brief—chapters it summarizes the history of the Negro in the United States, describes his "progress" in education, labor, and the professions and states current obstacles encountered in the struggle for equal rights. There are profiles of outstanding Negro leaders. For the average reader, unfamiliar with the literature on the subject, this is an excellent introduction.

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